/116 cont'd/

M 649 response to it was cool, and no enthusiasm was shown. However, the especially negative attitude of the few Li leaders of the landlord group was for different reasons. Previously, these Li leaders were landlords who held enormous mountain landholdings with rich animal yields. They were the privileged class in the society, who could act like kings. For the preservation their special privileges and standing, they were opposed to any outside influence. This situation was clearly reflected in the antagonism between the district government and the Li leaders. The movement against the purchase of land by returned overseas Chinese which was and is here been initiated by the populace in reaction to the threat to their existence, might also have been due to the selfish motives of a few Li leaders who wanted to preserve their personal interests. Therefore, we must make a thorough investigation of such complex internal conditions, in order to get a real explanation of anything that concerns the Li.

M 648 101 /117/ Now let us turn to the relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book we learned that the Miao migrated into Hainan during the Ming period. At that time the coastal area was already occupied by the Chinese, while the interior plains were occupied by the Li. Hence the Miao were compelled to live in the deep mountainous area and to make a living from planting on mountain slopes. They usually had very little connection with the Chinese. Therefore, the corrupt officials of successive dynasties had very little to do with them. As a result of this M 648 ●736 isolation, they have had no bad feelings against the government and the Chinese. What bothered them the most were the Li in the adjacent areas and the few influential Chinese merchants who took advantage of them. Hoping to be freed from this kind of oppression, they enthusiastically looked forward to the government governing them directly and developing the area. The establishment of the three districts in the Li area brought them a certain amount of comfort. At this time, however, I personally saw a certain incident in Pao-ting district. A certain Chinese merchant, who had been doing business in the Li area for many years, possessed a great deal of

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643 influential person in the locality and often took advantage of the
736 Miao of the area. Once a Miao man who had picked a few catties of edible tree fungus on another mountain passed through his mountain. He then arrested him on the ground that the Miao had stolen the fungus from his land. In addition to the confiscation of the fungus, the Miao was fined several tens of dollars. The Miao then began to appeal for justice to everyone he met. His Miao neighbors were sympathetic and willing to help him. They advised him to petition the district government. Anxious to have the affair settled, they sent agents to the government every day to find out the result and waited for the mail. Days passed and there was no response from the government at all. We could imagine how disappointed they were. Later when [illegible] came back from the Miao villages and went to inquire about it at the district office, was told that no such case had been received, and the district government had /118/ heard nothing about it. What happened? [illegible] really felt bad about it.

(2)

643 Now let us turn to the relationship between the Li and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book, we mentioned that originally the Miao were sent to Hainan to help the Chinese government suppress the Li uprisings. Therefore, the two groups had no reason to like
175 each other. However, neither the Li nor the Miao possesses a written history. These ancient conflicts could not have remained in their minds. Their antagonism, therefore was due not to historical factors but to economic reasons, or, more correctly, to their connections with the land.

As mentioned before, the Miao were the last group of immigrants to Hainan Island. The fertile land was already occupied by the Chinese and the Li by that time. Consequently, they were compelled to live in the deep mountains, enduring terrible hardships. Yet these mountains in reality by no means belonged to them but were rented from the Li under contracts of different terms, because long before the Miao moved to Hainan these mountains had already been occupied

A M 596 756 /35 cont./ outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A M 571 114 614 Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organizations are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans. Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M 592 ●[796] Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves. In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and M [842] strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as M [737] possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

/77 cont./

M 595 596 with him. The oldest son of this Meau was twenty-eight; the youngest child, a girl, was three years old. There is no greater attachment among the children of one of the small families in the house than there is among all the children of the household, since the unit is, after all, the large family. Their attachment is governed by age, for it is self-evident that the twenty-eight-year-old husband finds his half brothers or sisters of approximately the same age more congenial than his three-year-old sister. On the other hand, the bond between the members of a M 596 large family is positively like iron, and between the children who live under one roof there is a much greater attachment than between them and the other children of the sib who live in another house. Among the Meau not only the members of the M [614] [736] sib, but also the unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family") who live under the same roof belong to the "large family" unit.

A M 596 [858] The position of the children in the community is that of the most precious possession a person can have. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining peace and order within such a large community living under one roof presupposes absolute congeniality among its members and the authority of the head of the community to an extent that is scarcely conceivable to us under European conditions. If any European were to imagine that, among us, thirty and more members of a family with mothers-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law, not counting own and adopted children, were supposed to manage a household jointly in one house, it is a thought that might well frighten him. Among the Akha as well as among the Meau this problem is solved by the authoritarian principle within the large family.

A M [858] The position of the small children resembles that of small work animals. The older ones are regarded as unpaid workers who unconditionally have to carry out all the orders of the head of the large family, and in fact do this. The head of the large family is the only one who has absolute ownership rights over all the members of the community under his roof; among the Meau the head even has /78/ the power of life and death over the members of the community, but not among the Akha. Next to the head, the father has the most rights. Only after

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/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: [595] [425] [752] [276] [185] [614] [736] "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the

M 185 eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

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MiaoAE5

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] [614] [734] to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648 Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563 Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. M [114] Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567 In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[731 ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597 creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435 children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.